799 his powers of black magic would be undermined by the church if he
[799] joined it. It seems likely that it was in part his influence which made Seho less inclined than Jegase to make outside contacts.

[754] One of his sons, however, did leave the village to join the A. P. C., returning at the time of the eruption. It was this son (the second in seniority) who was chosen by Isemba as his successor to the leadership, as he had fallen out with the oldest one.

177 This son, baptised under the name of Lawrence in 1963, is now
623 about 50 years of age, proud and withdrawn, and is both the feast-leader and the "committee" of Sivepa. His land holdings are relatively extensive; he has lent some of them on a year-to-year basis to mission personnel. He refuses to sell any of this land to the mission nor
[429] will he lend gardens to the mission as organisation. He may help an individual teacher; when that teacher leaves, the land reverts to him. At one time a teacher left just before the taro was ready for harvest; Lawrence took the land and the taro; if the successor of the departed teacher felt upset, he regarded this as a problem for the mission. For Lawrence, this was a grave political issue: if one such land transfer was agreed to, he felt this would effectively mean permanent occupation by the mission of all areas loaned by him.

In spite of appearances, this implied no anti-mission attitude. Lawrence was most interested in the benefits the mission could bring and supported the move of Sivepa to a location on Seho land, six chains from the mission, partly because he liked to be close. But he pursued a careful policy of balance of power. The same pragmatic approach marked his relations with government. He was among the first to acquire coffee trees and Malayan rubber trees; he was, as I have already said, a staunch advocate of the government's village improvement policies, but when the patrol officer called his one concern, as "committee" was to see him happily and speedily on his way again, preferably without incident.

During the year, the women's club wanted some land for their club house. He was on friendly terms with the secretary, who was his elder sister's grandchild and offered an ideal elevated site, between village and mission station which would have made the village entrance most impressive. He was a man who thought of things like that.

[665] Lawrence has nine children, three married and three single daughters and three young sons. One of the daughters, rather against his will, married the most acculturated of the younger Jegase men; if such a thing as factionism existed at all in Sivepa, he and this younger man were clearly cast in the roles of opposing leaders. The second daughter married into Kongohambo, a mile from Sivepa. The third married a Semara man employed at Ilimo, but this man was said to maltreat his wife. Lawrence went to Ilimo and brought her home; this was regarded as quite proper even though bridewealth had been paid.

623 Lawrence was comparatively well off, largely because he was a
177 good coffee producer, but also because he received bridewealth from
471 three daughters, continuing gifts from his sons in law and from the

## CHAPTER VIII: Factionalism

121 In the preceding chapters I have invoked a number of principles
621 of classification with the aid of which I have divided the sample communities into a number of what are in the last resort arbitrary categories: religious categories (pagan-Christian), political categories (clans and lineages), ethnic categories (Orokaiva villagers and non-Orokaiva mission teachers), generational categories (age groups), acculturational categories (which sometimes coincided with the other categories already mentioned in personnel). It became apparent that all these categories were to some extent socially significant: we found, for instance, that the Inonda pagans are distinguishable from the Inonda Christians by having different economic objectives, a different level of Western education, smaller access to economic resources (land, etc) while they also belong to different lineages from the Christians. We also found, however, that the line of religious division by no means coincides with a generational division, nor do pagans necessarily have less experience at work outside the community.

621 In Sivepe we found political membership groups (clans) which
665 showed marked differences in certain acculturational indices (work outside the community, knowledge of other languages, exogamy, etc.) but little difference in other, probably more crucial ones (land resources and cash cropping activities). We found ethnic differences between mission teachers and villagers to be mainly significant in the context of political and status rivalry between the station and the villages. At various points we found differences in customs as between generations, but we also found that at Sivepe, the category of male adults under 35 is almost absent; and also, that when these younger people do return to the villages, their elders are apt to imitate them in certain respects. They thus become channels of acculturation.

I should perhaps have added that in this respect, as in most others, the Orokaiva practise a subtle bargaining of customs. The younger men come back with money and assets which they find are soon distributed, under one pretext or another, among the less affluent villagers. They have to "help" when called upon; they have to respect the existing system of social obligations. This is a pattern the younger generation has never successfully challenged in Sivepe, though perhaps it was easier to challenge in Inonda, where there is a "big man" as
665 leader. Another classification, namely between male and female,
562 should also perhaps be briefly considered as, under the impact of the women's clubs, men and women could occasionally be seen to behave as political membership groups.

This political division between men and women was, of course, on a rather superficial level. It was not seen in Inonda at all, as

665 the women's club there was a concern of the acculturated faction and
562 arguments about it were on factional lines. But in Sivepa, it was quite a novelty for the women to have a political cause of their own (they had to inveigle the men into building them a clubhouse) and they discussed the various ways in which they could exert pressure (refuse to sleep with them, etc.). All this was on a rather unserious level, although the secretary of the club, whose circumstances I have described, depended rather heavily on the club for a secure status in her new village. Later, when all the women were practising the kere-every night, the same tug of war re-established itself. Traditionally, married women do not dance much or at all; some husbands grumbled because the wives did not stay home in the evening, came home very late, left them with the babies, made a "lot of noise." In all this, there was a feeling that the status of women was rising--and the mission encouraged this as well as the government. More important, the women were acting as a group, under a leader, which may not have been common at an earlier time.

121 To what extent can one speak, in these villages, of factionalism? This term is used in a bewildering number of ways. Ralph Nicholas has recently tried to clarify it by five nominal propositions: according to him, factions are (1) conflict groups, (2) political groups, (3) not corporate groups. Faction members are recruited (4) by a leader and (5) on diverse principles. (1965: 27-29) Nicholas stresses that factions, in his sense of the term, lack the permanence of corporate groups, and that they may, in fact, arise in just one conflict situation, to evaporate again soon after. Alternatively, they may last for a very long time. I noticed a profound difference
665 between the working of factions among the New Zealand Maori and the
[171] Orokaiva. When a conflict situation arises among the Maori, including any disagreement at all between two persons of different families, familiar alignments at once reassert themselves. The lines of cleavage tend to be predictable; furthermore, a large number of people are apt
[578] to take sides along this predictable lines of division. Among the Orokaiva, each side tended to have only a small number of predictable protagonists. The rest would remain indifferent, and if the conflict became serious enough for them to participate, the alliances, at least in Sivepa, were hardly ever repeated from one occasion to the next. Factionalism in Sivepa was therefore, to a large extent, fugitive.

There were, of course, disputes that would divide the whole of a village along clan lines, or that would divide a larger body of contestants along village lines. I would tend, with Nicholas, to speak here of conflicts between corporate groups rather than factionalism.

Yet there are confusions here that still need to be cleared up. What Nicholas calls a "corporate group" is corporate only in respect of certain functions, even though these may be very diffuse, as in the case of kinship groups. But if conflict occurs over matters arising

665 out of acculturation, such conflict falls outside the charter of the corporation, so that I think one may still speak of a Christian and a pagan faction, even though the membership of these factions happens, for the time being, to coincide with the membership of lineages. Another problem is whether factions can exist only where there is leadership. One of the interests expressed in Dr. Barnett's list of variables is in "latent factions"--and these may exist where one side (or perhaps even both sides) have no leader. Thus, I think one can speak of factions in Inonda, even though the pagan faction had no leader; this deficiency did, however, stop factionalism in that village from becoming more manifest. Nonetheless, even though the pagans had no leadership comparable to that of the ruling family, they had their own informal ranking system and were able to formulate common opposition, e.g., against the women's club. This informal leader was an elderly woman who terrified my wife but whom I later found to be an intelligent informant. Even in Inonda, factionalism did not go nearly as deep as among the modern Maori: the feast at Inonda rallied all the families and the factions became submerged, in a cause with which everyone agreed.

Perhaps, the main reason why Orokaiva conflict groups do not qualify as "factions" by Nicholas' definition is that they are not structurally diverse. I mean by this that conflict groups tend to rally on one particular issue, but that on any other issue the personnal are bound to be different. An interesting example is furnished by [623] [666] the elections for the Local Government Council. A respectable Sivepe man entered as candidate and collected six votes. These were from his own extended family who felt bound to vote for him. The others did not support him on that occasion, but on another occasion, when he attempted to rape the wife of a clansman when drunk, he had a great number of supporters and the family who had almost suffered this grievous misfortune had hardly any supporters at all.